

The Ramesside tomb of Nebsumenu (TT183) and the ritual of Opening the Mouth

Jan Assmann

The following paper is an attempt to combine certain architectural features of Ramesside tombs with certain ritual scenes whose representation plays a particularly important role in their decoration. In my article 'Das Grab mit gewundenem Abstieg',¹ I proposed such a correlation between the sloping passage and the rites for the corn-mummy in the festival of Sokar. In this paper, I consider a similar correlation between certain rites of the ritual of Opening the Mouth and the closed court, another innovation of the Ramesside tomb.

The following are the three most important innovations in the architectural layout of the Ramesside tomb, as they have been described in particular detail by Friederike and Karl Seyfried in various publications:

1. The pyramid, rare in the Eighteenth Dynasty, now becomes a regular feature of a monumental Theban rock tomb.²

2. The forecourt or terrace of a pre-Amarna tomb gives way to a court closed on all four sides by a wall, preferably a sunken court, frequently with pillars and/or portico.³

3. The vertical shaft, inaccessible after burial, gives way to a sloping and winding passage or staircase, leading to subterranean rooms including the burial chamber.⁴

Except for the pyramid, which seems to have completely disappeared, TT183 shows these features of a Ramesside tomb with particular clarity (see plan in Fig. 1).

Before turning to the ritual of Opening the Mouth, which forms the proper subject of this paper, I will give a brief description of the tomb of Nebsumenu. The tomb is entered through a sequence of two courts, each closed on the east by a pylon. Two courts are a very rare feature in private tombs before the Late Period. The inner court still exhibits traces of rich sculptural decoration. Originally, it was surrounded on three sides by a colonnade with pillars of sandstone, containing life-size figures of the tomb owner in niches, and on the west side by a portico in the same fashion. Four similar statues decorate the facade, two on each side of the entrance, with a stela between them. A similar arrangement is found on the facade of the earlier and much larger tomb of the vizier Paser (TT106, time: Sety I–Ramesses II). On the southern stela, there are remains of a scene belonging to the ritual of Opening the Mouth: Anubis stands behind the mummy before a heap of offerings. The officiating figure

of the *sem* priest at the right has disappeared. Another scene belonging to this ritual is shown at the northern end of the portico: this is the purification of the statue or mummy with four *nemset* jars. On the facade of the tomb of Paser, similar purification scenes appear on wall sections in between the sculptured figures of the deceased. At the southern end of the portico, Nebsumenu is shown adoring a mummiform standing god, perhaps Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, accompanied by two goddesses. Only the lower part of the scene is preserved.

The decoration of the court must have been very remarkable. Besides scenes relating to a *Sed* festival of Ramesses II with Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertari at the west end of the south wall, there are scenes which belong in a more profane context, including a herdsman with cattle and an African village, perhaps a 'Punt' scene. The entrance of the tomb is decorated with elaborate inscriptions in very carefully carved hieroglyphs. At the bottom of the southern door post appears a unique feature: an inscription giving the name of the tomb and reading: 'the tomb chapel (*m'ḥr*) of Osiris, the leader of festivals of Amun, Nebsumenu, its beautiful name being "Amun has given it"'. The thicknesses of the entrance are decorated with the tomb owner singing hymns to the sun, which is a rather common feature. The hymns, however, are very unusual, because they are taken from the hourly ritual, a very exclusive body of texts.⁵

The first room, a transverse hall, has a vaulted ceiling. At both sides of the door to the next room, statues of the owner are again encountered in niches.⁶ At the narrower ends of the rooms are so-called 'entablatures', showing the deceased adoring the Abydos fetish and raising the *djed* pillar.⁷ The entrance wall and the rear wall are decorated in the same manner. They are divided into three horizontal sections. The upper section contains scenes of the ritual of Opening the Mouth, the middle section shows the deceased before the gates of the house of Osiris (BD 145) and the lower section contains scenes of the funerary cult.

The two walls thus contain three cycles of scenes, each divided into four sections: west wall south, east wall south, west wall north, east wall north. The sequence of the four sections results from the Opening the Mouth cycle where the sequence is fixed. This cycle appears in the same order in the neighbouring tombs TT32 and TT184 where it is also distributed on walls divided into three horizontal and four

¹ 'The tomb with a sloping and winding passage', Assmann 1984, 277–90, Taf. 41.

² Kampp 1996, 95–109.

³ Kampp 1996, 58–81.

⁴ Seyfried 1987.

⁵ Assmann 1983, 238–44, nos 172–175b.

⁶ The same feature appears in other tombs of the period, e.g. TT32, TT184, TT23 and TT264, see Kampp 1996, 207.

⁷ Brandt 2000.

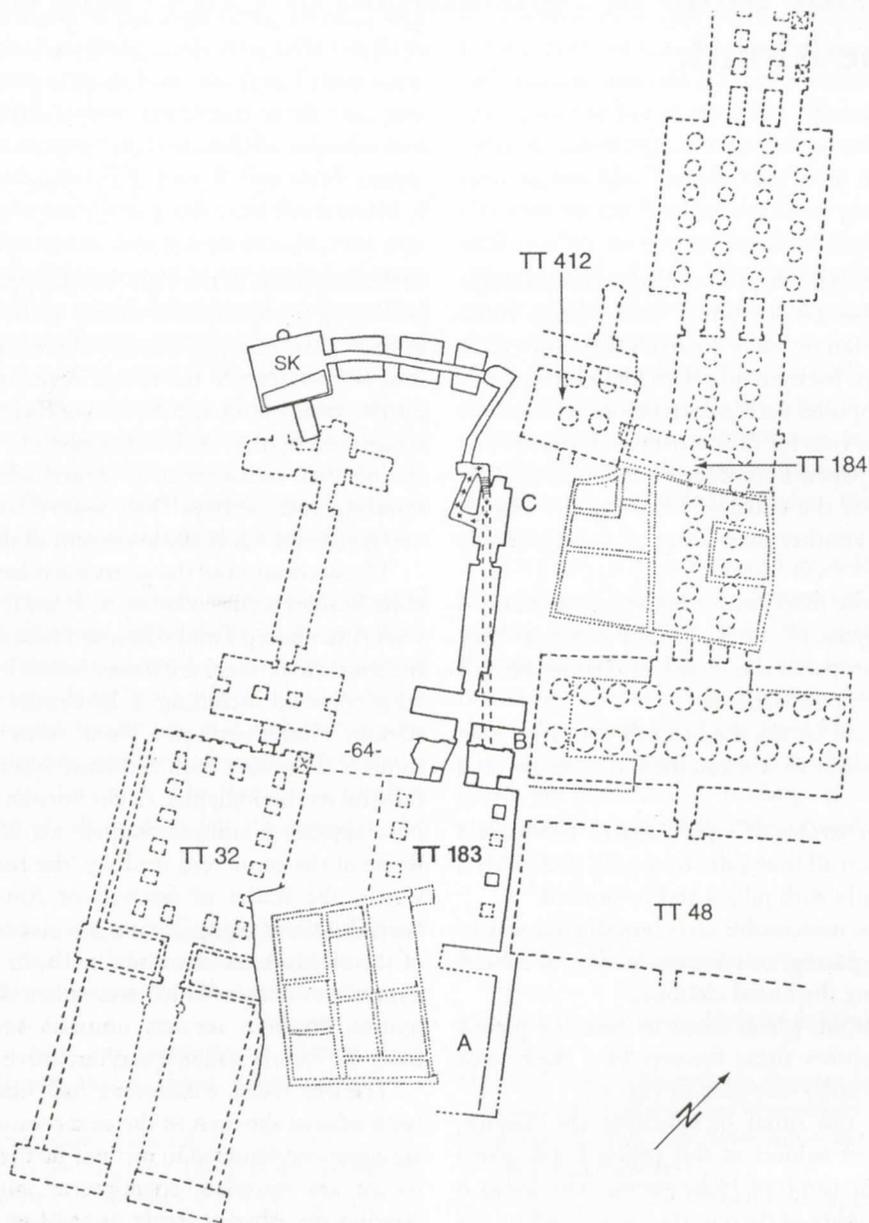


Fig. 1 Plan of TT183.

vertical sections. In these tombs, the scenes of the gates of the netherworld are uppermost, in the middle comes the ritual of Opening the Mouth and below the funerary cult. This is the usual disposition. Scenes taking place in the world of the gods are usually placed above scenes taking place on earth, in the cult.

We shall return to the ritual of Opening the Mouth which forms the main subject of this paper. But first let us finish our quick survey of the tomb of Nebsumenu.

The passage shows the same vaulted ceiling, here placed above a cornice and torus. The same features occur also in the neighbouring tombs TT32 and TT184, as well as in tombs TT23 and TT264 which are a little further away. The

ceiling is decorated with vignettes and spells from the Book of the Dead, spells 18 and 17 on the southern side and a collection of other spells on the northern side. On the south wall, we see the judgment scene, followed by a rather unusual scene: Horus presenting a 'wreath of justification' to his father Osiris.⁸ On the north wall there are limited remains of a funerary procession and to the west, after a long gap, another scene showing Osiris. The gap is caused by a break in the wall. A staircase crosses our tomb, coming from a neighbouring tomb in the north and continuing a long way below. At first sight, we took this to be a later intrusion. But soon we realised that it was Nebsumenu's masons who had broken into the sloping passage of an older tomb, dating

⁸ The same scene appears in the neighbouring tomb TT184. For the scene of presenting the wreath of justification in temple reliefs of the Graeco-Roman period see Derchain 1955.

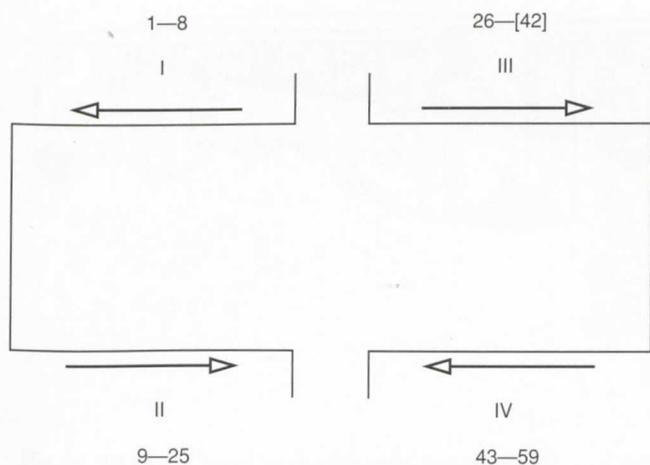


Fig. 2 Distribution of scenes in the transverse hall of TT183.

perhaps to the Eighteenth Dynasty. They had then filled the gap in the north wall with blocks, only one or two of which are preserved. The older and very impressive sloping passage was used by Nebsumenu for himself. We have not yet been able to find out to which tomb this huge sloping passage belongs. It ends somewhere in the air, leading to nowhere.

The chapel has again a vaulted ceiling decorated with spells from the Book of the Dead. On the walls are adoration scenes and scenes of the funerary cult, drawn in a sketchy, monochrome style. In the west wall, there is a small niche which originally, judging from its decoration, seems to have housed a statuette of Osiris-Sokar. Before it, on the ground, stands a group statue of Nebsumenu and his wife.

We shall not go down into the subterranean chambers and the burial chamber, but rather return into the first room and have a closer look at the scenes of the ritual of Opening the Mouth. Which scenes out of the 75 scenes in the Otto edition⁹ did Nebsumenu select and how did he distribute them on the four sections?

Nebsumenu had to distribute the scenes of the Opening the Mouth ritual on four walls: rear south, entrance south, rear north, entrance north. This entailed a segmentation of the scenes into four sequences which, on closer scrutiny, prove rather significant (Fig. 2).

The first sequence is located on the rear or west wall, southern part, and contains scenes 1–8 (in Otto's numbering). The second sequence is to be found on the opposite wall (east, south), containing scenes 9–25 (omitting 20–22 and 24), the third sequence is on the northern part of the west wall (scenes 28–32; the rest are destroyed, but presumably continued, with omissions, up to 42) and the fourth sequence is on the east wall north (scenes 43–59, with omissions). I propose to look more closely at these four sequences. The ritual of Opening the Mouth, as Otto had published it 40 years ago, contains 75 scenes. The number 75, however, is a totally abstract entity. No concrete version of the ritual ever contains 75 scenes. It is just the sum total

of the scenes in all of the versions plus duplicates and variants, and thus is a scientific construct but not an authentic Egyptian form. It is thus important to study concrete versions of the ritual. TT183 offers such a concrete version, a selection of some 40 scenes, divided into four sections.

The first scenes (1–6) consist of purifications. All the pertinent spells begin with the exclamation 'pure, pure!', to be repeated four times. The remaining representations (scenes 3–6) show fumigations. In scenes 4–6, the statue is to be circled around four times and to be censured with several kinds of incense. In the lacuna, we must reconstruct the scene of purifying the statue with four *nemset* jars, in which the statue is also to be circled around four times. This sequence has an introductory meaning. Also in the daily temple ritual, the presentation of offerings is introduced by libations and fumigations.

The penultimate scene (scene 7) is entitled 'Entering to see him'. This scene is missing in Otto's edition. It is obviously imported from the temple ritual of the cult image where it is called 'Entering to see the god'. The ritual of Opening the Mouth is obviously performed here on the tomb statue which is already there.

The last scene (no. 8) is entitled 'Going to the tomb' (*šm.t r jz*). The officiants are the *jmj-hnt* ('chamberlain') and the lector priest. The tomb is represented as a 'mastaba' on a socle. A caption explains it as 'the tomb of Osiris, the major-domo Nebsumenu'. This makes it clear that the scene is not taking place in the 'gold house', the sculptor's workshop, but in the tomb.

The second sequence on the opposite wall (east/south) starts with a group of scenes that belong to the original core of the whole ritual. Moreover, it is unique in the history of Ancient Egyptian religion because it implies a kind of inspirational trance or meditation, for which there are no parallels in Egypt.¹⁰ Unfortunately, the scenes are so damaged in our tomb that we must turn to better preserved versions in order to understand their meaning.

The *sem* priest is squatting on a chair, clad in his coat. The caption describes his attitude as 'sleeping' or 'spending the night' and continues:

To be recited by the *sem* priest, while sitting in front of him (the statue):

He has *sd* (broken?) me'.

To be recited by the *jmj-jz* priest, while standing behind him:

'He has *ddw* (struck?) me!'

The *jmj-jz* says four times:

'My father! My father! My father! My father!'

At the end we read:

'Waking up him who is sleeping. Finding the *jmjw-hnt* priests.'

⁹ Otto 1960.

¹⁰ Fischer-Elfert 1998.

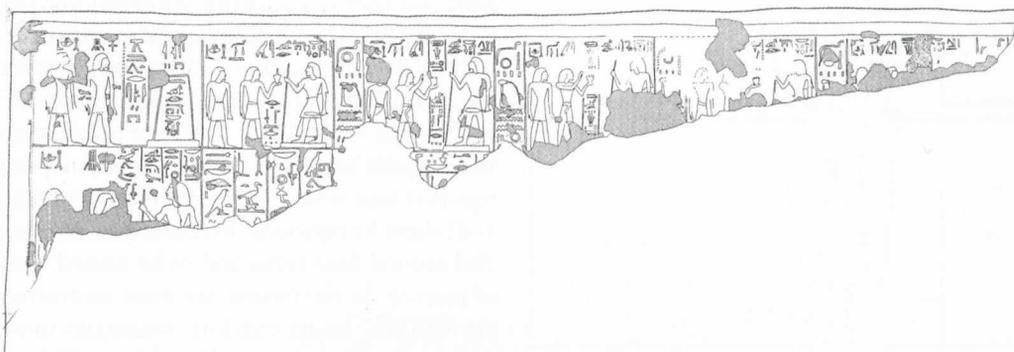


Fig. 3 TT183, Opening the Mouth, Sequence I.

In the following scene, the *sem* priest is again shown squatting on his chair and engaging in a dialogue with the *jmjw-hnt* priests.

To be recited by the *sem* priest:

'I have seen my father in all his forms!'

The word *qd* 'form' is a pun on *qd* 'to sleep'. The *jmjw-hnt* priests say to the *sem*:

'Your father should not move away from you!'

The *sem* priest says to the *jmjw-hnt*:

'The "catcher of faces" has caught him.'

The *jmjw-hnt* say to the *sem*:

'I have seen my father in all his forms. Beware lest he disappears! No disturbance shall be with him!'

The *sem* priest plays the role of the son of the deceased (or vice-versa). Only the son is capable of doing what is at stake here: to see the form of the deceased father by meditation or trance and to catch it in its shape so that it may be transferred into stone or wood. Most probably, however, the ritual is here not about fabricating a statue, because this has already been ordered by the tomb owner himself during his lifetime, but about consecrating and animating an already finished statue. Thus, there is no need for a son to guarantee its likeness. This and the following scenes are to be interpreted in a symbolic sense. There, the *sem* gives directives to the sculptors.

Scene 11 is titled: Getting up by the *sem*. He takes his stick. He wears the *qnj* garment.

The *sem* changes clothes and dons a garment called *qnj*, 'the embracer'.

Scene 12 shows him in front of the wood-carvers (*qs.tjw*). He says to them:

'Stamp my father! Make him likely! Who is it who makes him likely for me?'

In scene 13, the *sem* priest confronts three artisans, the 'bone-carver', the 'axe-worker' and the 'worker with the polishing stone', saying:

'Who are these who want to approach my father? Do not strike my father!
Do not touch his head!'

The workmen's activities at the statue by necessity imply a certain violence whose harmful consequences must be averted.

Scene 14 shows the *sem* with a symbolic gesture called *mdd*, 'to joint'. He stretches his arm towards the statue, touching his mouth with his little finger. 'To joint' is a carpenter's term meaning to join two parts in a way that they connect. He accompanies this gesture with the words (corresponding to spell 20 of the Pyramid Texts):

'I have come in search of you, I am Horus.
I have jointed your mouth,
I am your beloved son!'

Scene 15 has again the function of averting unwanted consequences. The *sem* says to the workmen:

'Come, strike for me my father!'

They answer:

'Let those who strike your father be protected!'

In scene 16, the *sem* negotiates with an axe-worker:

'I am Horus and Seth. I do not allow you to make white the head of my father!'

In scene 17, the *jmjw-hnt* priests say to a priest called 'He who is behind Horus':

'Isis, go to Horus in order that he may seek his father!'

In scene 18, the lector priest stays in front of the *sem* saying:

'Hurry up that you may see your father!'

The statue is now finished and to be recognised by the son as an image of his father. Here, the sequence of the workmen scenes comes to a close. With scenes 19–21, a new section starts. The *sem* has again to change clothes. He drops the *qnj* garment and dons the leopard-skin, which is his typical garment. The recitation refers to this episode by puns:

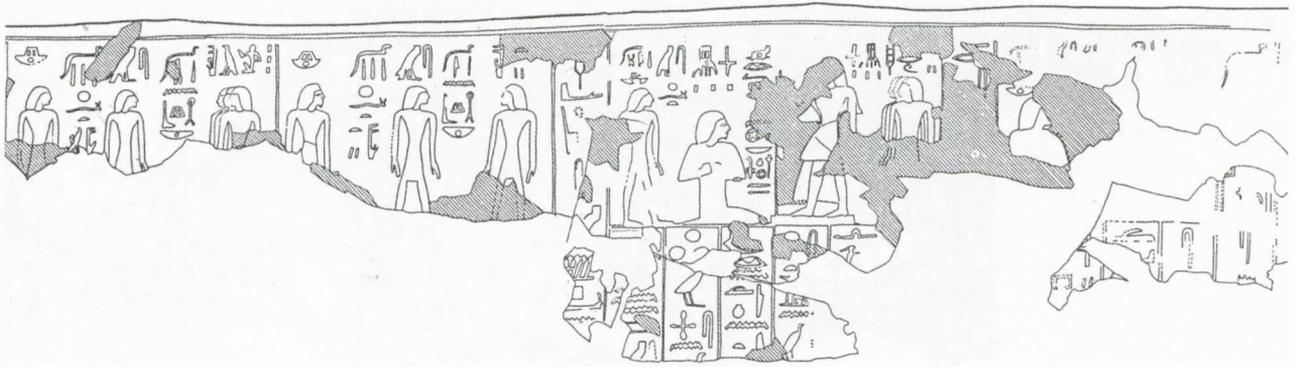


Fig. 4 TT183, Opening the Mouth, Sequence II.

'I saved this eye out of his mouth!
I tore off his foreleg!'

The lector priest says to the statue:

'I stamped your eye for you, in order that you be animated by virtue of it.'

The words 'to stamp' and 'to be animated' allude to the name of the leopard-skin.

In the same way as most other versions, TT183 passes from scene 18 directly to scene 23. We are still on the east wall south. With scene 23 begins the main part of the ritual, the Opening the Mouth proper. Scene 23 shows the slaughtering of three animals. A foreleg is cut off a bull and the heart is taken out. A goat and a goose are decapitated. We shall come back to this crucial scene later on. In scene 24, the lector priest and the *semer* priest bring the foreleg and the heart with great speed to the statue and put them on the ground before it, as well as the goat and the goose.

This scene has been generally misunderstood as an offering scene in the context of a funerary meal. However, it is titled quite unequivocally as 'Opening eyes and mouth'. The Sem does not 'offer' the foreleg as a piece of nourishment, but uses it as a tool for opening the mouth. The foreleg resembles in its shape the usual carpenter's tool, the adze, which is used for Opening the Mouth and which is brought to function in scenes 26 and 27, which are lost in TT183. The slaughtering belongs therefore within the Opening the Mouth, which starts with scene 23 and ends with scene 27.

We are now in a position to view the scenes on the east wall north as a unity. They comprise the sleep or meditation sequence, the workmen sequence and the Opening the Mouth sequence, interrupted by two intermediary scenes of changing clothes.

In scene 28, the *jmj-hnt* is confronting the *iri-p^{ct}* (another role of the son) saying:

'I am striking him for his mother that (s)he may lament for him.

I am striking him for her who was joined to him.'

These words make no sense and are transposed here from scene 27. Scene 29 repeats scene 17. Again, the *jmj-hnt* is saying to 'him, who is behind Horus':

Isis, go to Horus, that he may embrace/seek his father!

Scene 30 repeats scene 16. Again, the Sem says to the workmen:

I am Horus and Seth. I do not allow him to whiten the head of my father!'

Scene 31 is a double scene. The first part is titled: 'Finding the "Loving son" who is standing outside', the second part is dealing with 'Introducing the "loving son" into the interior of the tomb'. It shows the Sem, leading the 'loving son', who is behind him, by the hand into the tomb. Behind him stands the lector priest and behind the tomb stands the statue which is present in all of the scenes. The spell says: 'O NN, I am bringing you your loving son, that he may open your mouth for you!' In scene 32, the 'loving son' is indeed acting as the opener of eye and mouth. The title says: 'Performing the opening of the mouth and the eyes, first with the *ddft* tool and then with the finger of electrum.' The recitation reads:

'O NN, I have attached your mouth for you!

This wiping out of your mouth of your father NN in your name Sokar ... (etc)¹¹

The remaining scenes of this sequence are lost in TT183. Here must have followed scenes 33–40, in which the statue is presented various gifts supposed to have a 'mouth-opening' effect on it.

¹¹ Cf PT §644a–c, see Otto 1960, II, 93.



Fig. 5 TT183, Opening the Mouth, Sequence III.

The fourth and last sequence (Fig. 6) begins with the rarely attested scene 40, a repetition of scene 20, the changing of clothes by the *sem* priest, with the recitation: 'I have rescued the eye of Horus out of his mouth. I have torn out his foreleg! I have wished for you this eye of Horus, in order that you be 'ba' by virtue of it'—words that allude to the name of the leopard-skin of the *sem* priest.

The following scenes also repeat episodes of the second sequence on the southern part of the east wall. Since they are much better preserved here than in their first occurrence, we shall study them in more detail. As usual, the slaughtering is interpreted as the punishment of the enemy. The priestess representing Isis has to whisper into the ear of the victim:

Scene 43=23:

Sem priest: laying hand on the male Upper Egyptian calf.

Slaughterer: descending upon it, severing its foreleg, cutting out its heart.

Recite near his ear by the Great Kite (Isis as wailing woman):

'It is your lip that has done this to you by the cleverness of your mouth!'

The enemy impersonated by the victim is told that he him-

self has pronounced his sentence. This motif occurs already in PT 477, where the utterings of Seth are quoted to prove that he has determined his own punishment with his speeches.

As a rite of sacrifice, the same episode¹² occurs also in the context of the Khoiak rites at Dendera. There, one of the two wailing women says to the victim:

It is your mouth, your mouth,
it is your lips, your lips,
it is your mouth that has done this to you,
it is your lips that have done this to you!¹³

In scene 44=24, the foreleg and heart are given to two priests, who run with them to the statue.

Slaughterer: giving the foreleg to the lector priest and the heart to the *semer* priest

The heart is in the hand of the *semer*, the foreleg is in the hand of the lector priest.

They run with it.¹⁴

Presenting the foreleg and heart to NN.

The speed of the priests show that we are dealing here with the famous scene of the 'mutilated calf', in which part of the animal is removed while still alive.¹⁵ This cruel scene is depicted in the tombs only in and after the Amarna

¹² For other parallels in the sun temple of Niuserre and in the Ramessum Dramatic Papyrus see Otto 1960, 75 n. 1; Otto 1950.

¹³ Cauville 1997, 51. Similarly, on p. 53, the slaughterer speaks himself. The scene corresponds exactly to scenes 23–4 of the ritual of Opening the Mouth.

¹⁴ Wb III, 472: 'eilig laufen, eilen'. Otto translates 'sie nähern sich damit' (they approach with it) and misses the decisive point of the scene.

¹⁵ Barthelmeß 1992, 87–92.



Fig. 6 TT183, Opening the Mouth, Sequence IV.

period. A foreleg is cut off from a living calf, while its mother is standing behind lamenting. A priest hurries to the mummy with the severed foreleg. Obviously, much depends on the leg being presented to the mummy while still retaining its vital force.

In two tombs the scene is accompanied by a text showing that the lamenting voice of the mother cow is also important:

The spell of what the cow says:

Crying for you, o Beloved one!

The cow is mournful at your tomb,
her heart mourns for her master.¹⁶

The following scene 45 repeats scene 25 and shows what is at stake in this sacrificial rite. The severed foreleg is held to the face of the statue as an instrument of animation. The accompanying spell is full of allusions which are only understandable in the light of the scene of the mutilated calf.¹⁷

Sem priest and *lector* priest:

taking the foreleg, opening mouth and eyes.

To recite: O NN, I have come in search of you (to embrace you).

I am Horus, I have adjusted your mouth for you.

I am your beloved son, I have split open your mouth for you.

How slain he is (Seth, the victim) for his mother who laments him,

how slain he is to her who was joined to him.

How *hng* (an unknown word—'in good order?') is your mouth!

I have adjusted your mouth to your bones.

O NN! I have split open your mouth with the *hph*, the eye of Horus.

The spell corresponds to PT 20, assuring the age of the rite, which must go back to the Old Kingdom. The presentation of foreleg and heart is mentioned in various funerary texts of the NK. This shows that it is not just a rite in the context of a ritual of animating a statue, but that it has a more general significance.

The centrepiece of the whole ritual, the Opening the Mouth with the freshly-removed foreleg, is thus performed twice, and its location on both sides of the entrance, on the northern and the southern part of the entrance wall, is certainly intentional. In scene 23 (on the southern part of the east wall), the rite is to be executed with an 'Upper Egyptian bull', in scene 43, on the northern part, with a 'Lower Egyptian bull'.¹⁸ On the southern part, these scenes were preceded by the scenes of the sleeping or meditating *sem* priest and his dialogues with the workmen. On the northern part, it is followed by scenes that close this version of the ritual. These scenes may be subsumed under the heading of 'investiture'. The statue is invested with the insignia of royal status.

The first scene shows the unction of the statue. The *sem* priest touches its mouth with the index finger of the right hand. Doing this, he recites a spell of which only the first three verses are preserved in the tomb of Nebsumenu and which I quote in a more complete version of a Funerary Liturgy from the Late Period:¹⁹

O Osiris NN, your mother has born you today!

¹⁶ TT218 and TT360, after Barthelmeß 1992, 89.

¹⁷ This reference has not been recognised up to now, because the formula *Hw-sw n mu.t=f* has been attributed to the son and translated: 'who unites with his mother, who weeps for him', see

Otto 1960, 78 ff.

¹⁸ Otto 1960, 74 (3).

¹⁹ Papyrus London BM 10081, col. 18 (unpublished).

You are made into one who knows what is not known.
 Geb at the head of the corporation of the Great Ennead
 has healed you
 by joining your head to your bones.
 He speaks to you, and the Ennead listens
 among the living on this day.
 May Geb be gracious to you
 and give you your head,
 join together for you your limbs.
 May Horus be gracious to you
 and give you your head,
 join together your limbs that you may endure.

May you receive him, your *Ka*, your god.
 May your *Ka* be gracious to you,
 may your god be gracious to you,
 your *Ka* being before you,
 your god being behind you,
 May you receive your head.

The unction has a re-membering effect. The whole result of the embalming ritual is concentrated in this one gesture which the *sem* priest performs with his index finger. After the unction follows the purification with incense (scene 47), over which a classic, widely attested spell is recited.²⁰ After this, the statue is presented with a garment (scene 50) as well as sceptre and mace (scene 57). The closing scene in TT183 is a fumigation before the Uraeus serpent. The meaning of all these closing scenes converges in the idea of a royal investiture.

The four sequences can be summarised as follows:

Sequence I: Overture (purification with libations and fumigations; approaching the tomb, entering the tomb);

Bibliography

- Assmann, J 1983. *Sonnenhymnen in Thebanischen Gräbern*. Theben 1, Mainz.
 Assmann, J 1984. Das Grab mit gewundenem Abstieg. Zum Typenwandel des Privatgrabes im Neuen Reich, *MDAIK* 40, 277–90.
 Barthelmess, P 1992. *Der Übergang ins Jenseits in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern der Ramessidenzeit*. SAGA 2, Heidelberg.
 Brandt, K 2000. *Die Scheintüren und Entablaturen in den thebanischen Beamtengräbern des Neuen Reiches*. Unpublished dissertation, Heidelberg.
 Cauville, S 1997. *Dendara XI, Les chapelles osiriennes*. Cairo.
 Derchain, P 1955. La couronne de la justification. Essai d'analyse d'un rite ptolémaïque, *CdE* 30, 225–87.
 Fischer-Elfert, H W 1998. *Die Vision von der Statue im Stein. Studien zum altägyptischen Mundöffnungsritual*. Mit einem zoologischen Beitrag von F Hofmann. Schriften der Heidelber-

Sequence II: Animation (meditation/trance of the *sem*), transference of the vision onto the statue (workmen scenes), first Opening the Mouth with slaughtering of the Upper Egyptian bull;

Sequence III: Opening the Mouth with various objects;

Sequence IV: Second Opening the Mouth with slaughtering the Lower Egyptian bull: investiture of the statue by unction, garments and insignia.

This seems to be the ritual of Opening the Mouth proper. In some tombs there follows the performance of a food offering, which, however, is a ritual in itself with opening fumigations and libations. Some versions end with a litany to the sun god. In funerary texts from the Amarna period onward, there is frequently mentioned a rite of 'erecting the mummy before Re in the court of the tomb'.

sḥr.tw sḥ=k n Rrw your mummy is erected for Re
m wsh.t n.t jz=k in the court of your tomb.²¹

In the tombs, this rite is represented as an Opening of the Mouth. Here, the ritual takes place in the open air, and this explains why it is closed by a litany to the sun god. More explicit texts show that this rite of erecting the mummy was to take place 'on the day of *mnh.t* (clothing)' which I take to be an expression for 'investiture'.

Very probably, the ritual of Opening the Mouth was performed in the court in an abbreviated form, concentrating on three focal points: the consecration of the mummy with incense and water, the sacrifice of foreleg and heart, and the investiture of the mummy before Re. These are the rites represented in the tombs as taking place in the court. My thesis is that it was precisely with respect to the performance of these rites that the closed court had been introduced into tomb architecture in the course of the New Kingdom.

ger Akademie der Wissenschaften 5, Heidelberg.

Hermann, A 1940. *Die Stelen der thebanischen Felsgräber der 18. Dynastie*. Glückstadt.

Hofmann, E 1995. *Das Grab des Neferepet* gen. Kenro (TT178). Theben 9, Mainz.

Kampp, F 1996. *Die thebanische Nekropole. Zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie*. 2 vols. Theben 13, Mainz.

Otto, E 1950. An Ancient Egyptian Hunting Ritual, *JNES* 9, 164–77.

Otto, E 1960. *Das Altägyptische Mundöffnungsritual*. 2 vols. ÄA 3, Wiesbaden.

Seyfried, K-J 1987. Bemerkungen zur Erweiterung der unterirdischen Anlagen einiger Gräber des Neuen Reiches in Theben—Versuch einer Deutung, *ASAE* 71, 229–49.

²⁰ E.g. CT VI, spell 530, see for this and other parallels Otto 1960, 109 ff.

²¹ TT178 (12) see Hofmann 1995, 62 Text 116. Similarly: an unnumbered statue in Turin (Twentieth Dynasty), see Hermann 1940, 99 n. 447.